DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 369 272 FL 022 006

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TITLE The Acculturation Model: The Theory and Its Implications for Classroom Language Acquisition.
PUB DATE [94]
NOTE 27p.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120) -- Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; Elementary Secondary Education; English (Second Language); Linguistic Theory; Models; *Second Language Instruction; *Second Language Learning; Teacher Effectiveness; *Teacher Role

ABSTRACT

This paper argues that instruction can play a significant role in second language acquisition (SLA) and that the acculturation process can, to some extent, take place in the second language classroom as well as the naturalistic setting. J. H. Schumann's acculturation model of SLA contends that learners will succeed in SLA only to the extent they acculturate into the group that speaks the target language natively. Schumann separates instruction from acculturation, and claims that instruction is a minor variable in the SLA process compared to acculturation. Despite Schumann's assertions, it is argued that a responsive teacher can do much to alleviate psychological and sociological distance factors between the students and the target culture, and responsive teaching may increase learner receptivity to the target language. The paper also examines the classroom implications of the acculturation model. (Contains 35 references.) (MDM)

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The Acculturation Model:

The Theory and its Implications for Classroom Language Acquisition

by

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Introduction

Over the past twenty years, many models have been proposed for representing the multidimensional process of second language acquisition (see Gardner, 1985 or Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991, for a review of second language acquisition models). While none of these models has been able to explain the process of second language acquisition (SLA) comprehensively, each model has led in some way to a richer understanding of the process by which learners acquire a second language. Most of these models, including Schumann's acculturation model which is the focus of this paper, were intended to explain SLA in the naturalistic setting rather than in the classroom.

In Schumann's model (1978a, 1978b), the major causal variable in SLA is constituted of a set of social and affective factors that cluster into a single variable he calls acculturation. Schumann contends that learners will succeed in SLA only to the extent that they acculturate into the group that speaks the target language natively. He separates instruction from acculturation, and claims that instruction is a minor variable in the SLA process compared to acculturation.

In this paper, we will argue that instruction can play a significant role in SLA and that the acculturation process, can, to some extent, take place in the second language classroom as well as in the naturalistic setting. A "responsive" teacher (Bowers and Flinders, 1990) can do much to alleviate psychological and sociological distance factors between the students and the target culture. Responsive teaching may increase learner "receptivity" (Allwright and Bailey, 1991) to the target language. After a brief summary of the basis of the acculturation model and its modification over time, we will discuss its classroom implications.

I. The basis of the acculturation model

Schumann's model is based on the data that he gathered at Harvard in 1973 as a member of a research team which was studying second language learning primarily independent of second language instruction. From his data, he concluded that learners

who experience decreasing success in acquiring a second language in spite of prolonged residence in the L2 culture are stymied because of a lack of acculturation to the target language culture.

These conclusions are based initially on Schumann's work with a 33 year old Costa Rican subject named Alberto. Alberto was a poor, single, unskilled worker in Cambridge, Massachusetts living in a cohesive, enclosed neighborhood of Costa Rican immigrants who had little contact with mainstream American culture. Through games, oral assessment measures, and spontaneous speech, Schumann elicited English speech samples from his subject. Although Alberto could communicate in English, his English was simplified and reduced. Schumann applied linguistic analysis to such utterances as */*I no remember his name/* and */*I don't can explain this/* , which were recorded on twenty tapes (transcription in Schumann, 1978a, Appendix A). Based on Schumann's intensive auxiliary analysis, he concluded that Alberto showed very little linguistic development during the course of the study. He remained in the first of four stages of in acquiring the English negative, *no V, don't V, aux-neg, analyzed don't* , characteristics which made his speech similar to those of pidgin languages which Schumann had studied.

Alberto's English was also limited to the communicative function: the transmission of referential, denotative information between persons. Like pidgin languages, his variety of English lacked the integrative function, in which speakers mark themselves as members of a social group, and the expressive function, which allows them to become valued members of a linguistic community (Schumann 1978a:76). Because of these features, Schumann refers to a lack of acculturation as evidenced by Alberto's speech as undergoing a pidginization process.

Through a questionnaire written in Spanish, Schumann also attempted to determine Alberto's attitudes towards language learning and his life in the United States. Alberto's answers indicated a very positive attitude towards Americans and learning

English. He even indicated that he preferred speaking English to speaking Spanish and that he wanted to marry an English-speaking American.

Alberto's actions, however, contradicted his answers to the questionnaire, which were perhaps more a reflection of what he thought the researcher wanted to hear than what he really felt. According to Schumann, Alberto made very little effort to get to know English-speaking people, and chose to work at night rather than to take English classes. He had no television, but he purchased an expensive tape deck to listen to Spanish music. Alberto's actions could, of course, be explained by the reluctance of English speaking people to get to know him as much as his lack of interest in English speakers, but whatever the viewpoint, there was social distance between Alberto and speakers of English. Schumann concluded that a lack of solidarity between speaker and addressee, or *social and psychological distance* from the speakers of the target language, led to the pidginization of Alberto's speech.

To confirm his conclusions, Schumann had to rule out other factors that could have prevented Alberto from acquiring better English. In this process, Schumann considered ability and age factors. The ability factor was ruled out by giving Alberto and other subjects in the Harvard study the "Colored Blocks Test". Even though the test was administered in English, and yielded questionable results, Alberto did as well as younger subjects who had developed higher English proficiency than Alberto. Therefore, Schumann concluded that ability to learn was not a factor in Alberto's lack of acculturation.

Schumann tried to determine whether age was a factor in Alberto's case. It is commonly thought that adults may be too old to acquire an L2. Three types of arguments for the advantages of learning an L2 while one is young have been advanced: the biological, the cognitive and the affective. Schumann looked at all three and then rejected the biological argument in favor of a cognitive/affective one.

Schumann first considered the **biological argument** that Alberto's English failed to develop because of the neurological maturation of his brain (1978a) In the 1960's Lenneberg had reported that cortical lateralization occurs at the time of puberty. It was widely held that adults have more trouble than children in learning second languages because language functions become localized in the left cerebral cortex and the brain loses its plasticity after age 10. Subsequent research by Krashen (1973), however, showed that cortical lateralization is completed by the age of five and thus can not be used to account for adult second language difficulties. Krashen speculated that lateralization may correspond more to first language acquisition but does not explain second language difficulties for adults. Having rejected the biological argument, Schumann sought other explanations for the disadvantages this older learner seemed to have in acquiring second languages.

Schumann next asked whether there might be **cognitive reasons** why people who arrived in the U.S. after puberty are unable to develop native-like fluency in English. Krashen (1975) has suggested that native-like competence in syntax and semantics may not be acquired in languages learned after puberty. Krashen linked the close of the critical age to the onset of formal operations (occurring between the ages of 11-15), the highest stage in Piaget's model of cognitive development. In short, Krashen believed that teenagers and adults tend to think too much, try to make too many isolated rules, and are thus unable to acquire the language by natural, less conscious means.

Schumann was more persuaded by Rosansky (1973), who observed that before the formal operation stage, the child is centered and can focus only on one dimension of a problem at a time (Schumann, 1978a). This narrowness of focus, as well as children's tendency to concentrate on similarities rather than differences, are beneficial for language acquisition. Rosansky believed that children lose these characteristics around puberty, at which point they begin to start structuring their input, like an anthropological linguist trying to learn a new language.

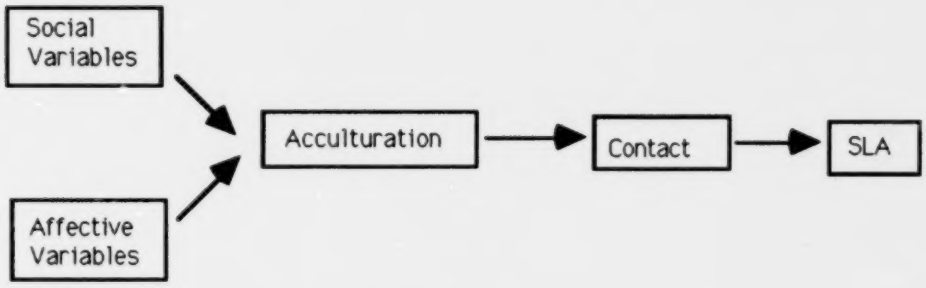
Although partially persuaded by Rosansky's cognitive arguments, Schumann was most convinced by arguments related to affective changes that take place around puberty. The adolescent becomes self-conscious, feels vulnerable, and avoids taking risks. Schumann argues that younger children are more successful language learners because they get involved in real communication in order to understand what their peers are saying to them and in order to make their meaning clear to their peers. The question then becomes why adults do not become involved in real communication as easily as children do. To answer that question, Schumann focuses on the social and psychological (affective) factors which influence L2 acquisition. To Schumann's account of these factors, we would add variables associated with classroom instruction.

II. A representation of the acculturation model

According to Schumann (1986), a single variable called acculturation is the major causal variable in SLA. Acculturation is the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group. It is the clustering of two groups of variables: social variables (a group level phenomenon) and affective variables (an individual level phenomenon).

Schumann proposes that any learner can be placed on a continuum that ranges from social and psychological distance to social and psychological proximity with speakers of the TL, and that learners will acquire the second language only to the degree that they acculturate. In other words, the degree to which learners acculturate into the TL group will control the degree to which they acquire the second language, since SLA is just one aspect of acculturation. Schumann posits a chain of causality in natural SLA, in which acculturation is particularly important because it initiates the chain. Acculturation works as a remote cause that brings the learner into contact with TL speakers, and the verbal interaction with TL speakers promotes the negotiation of appropriate input that is the immediate cause of language acquisition.

Figure 1 A representation of the acculturation model



Social variables are related to the relationship between two social groups ---the second-language learning (2LL) group and the target-language (TL) group in a contact situation. Schumann explained that certain social factors can promote or inhibit contact between the two groups and thus affect the degree to which the 2LL group acculturates, which in turn affects the degree to which that group will acquire the target language. The factors include 1) social dominance patterns 2) the three integration strategies of assimilation, preservation and adaptation 3) enclosure, 4) cohesiveness and size, 5) congruence or similarity between the culture of the TL group and that of the 2LL group, 6) attitude, 7) the 2LL group's intended length of residence in the target language area.

1) Social dominance patterns

If the 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically or economically superior (dominant) to the TL group, then second language learning is unlikely to occur. If the 2LL group is inferior (subordinate) to the TL group, then the 2LL group may tend to resist learning the target language. If the 2LL group and the TL group are roughly equal, then the second language learning will be promoted.

2) Three integration strategies: Assimilation, preservation, and adaptation

Assimilation maximizes contact between the two groups and enhances acquisition of the TL. It occurs when the 2LL group gives up its own lifestyle and values and adopts those of the TL

group. *Preservation* creates social distance between two groups and makes it unlikely that the 2LL group will acquire the TL. Preservation takes place when a 2LL group maintains its own lifestyle and values and rejects those of the TL group. *Adaptation* leads to varying degrees of c ontact between the two groups and thus varying degrees of acquisition of the target language. It exists when the 2LL group adapts to the lifestyle and values of the TL group, but maintains its own lifestyle and values for intragroup use.

3) Enclosure

Enclosure refers to the degree to which the 2LL group and the TL group share the same social constructs, such as religious institutions, schools, clubs, recreational facilities, crafts, professions, and trades. Enclosure is said to be low if the two groups share those social constructs. When enclosure is low, contact between the two groups is enhanced and 2LL will be facilitated. On the other hand, if the two groups do not share those social constructs, enclosure is high and contact between the two groups is limited, decreasing the opportunities for 2LL.

4) Cohesiveness and size

If the 2LL group is cohesive, its members will tend to separate from the TL group, and if the 2LL group is large, the intragroup contact will be more frequent than intergroup contact. Both cohesiveness and group size will reduce 2LL.

5) Congruence or similarity between the two groups

If the two cultures are similar, social contact between the two groups will be promoted and 2LL will be facilitated.

6) Attitude

If the two groups have positive attitudes toward each other, 2LL is more likely to occur.

7) The 2LL group's intended length of residence in the target language area

If the 2LL group expects to stay for an extended period in the target language area, contacts with the TL groups will be facilitated and tend to promote SLL.

While social variables are related to a group phenomenon, affective variables are tied to individuals. Schumann explained that individual affective (psychological) variables are important and can overcome the social distance resulting from the relationship between the 2LL group and the TL group. The psychological variables influencing acculturation include 1) language shock 2) culture shock 3) motivation 4) ego-permeability. If learners do not overcome language and cultural shock and do not

have sufficient and appropriate motivation and ego-permeability, then they may not fully acculturate into the TL culture and will not successfully acquire the second language.

1) Language shock

When learners attempt to speak a second language, they often fear that they will appear inept. If the learners do not fear criticism or ridicule, there maybe more chances to use the TL and thus facilitate SLA.

2) Culture shock

Culture shock is anxiety, stress, and fear resulting from the disorientation encountered upon entering a new culture. Learners who are in one of those conditions are less likely to make the effort to become bilingual.

3) Motivation

Learners' acquisition of SL may differ depending on their motivational types or the intensity of those motivations.

4) Ego-Permeability

Ego-permeability lowers the learner's level of inhibition. Successful SLA depends on the learner's level of disinhibition and openness to TL language input.

III. Changes in Schumann's acculturation model over time

Schumann's claims for the acculturation model both expand and contract over time, especially with reference to instructional settings. His original paper (1978b) includes a corollary to the hypothesis that states that acculturation is the major causal variable in SLA, and that all other factors, including instruction, are minor variables. He raises the possible counter example of instructional immersion settings like the Foreign Service Institute, where radical measures are taken to promote language learning. It is only under those radical immersion conditions that instruction can play a more important role than acculturation, according to Schumann. He is also willing to hypothesize that formal instruction might facilitate informal language acquisition. Formal instruction provides additional input, and helps learners clarify or identify features that may not be captured by informal interaction. It provides the learner with a conscious monitor with

which to modify speech in informal interaction. He goes on to suggest that learners keep journals to see how instruction helps in informal settings. In his subsequent 1986 paper, Schumann refuses even to address the issue of instruction. Instead, he simply states that since the acculturation model is designed to explain SLA among immigrant populations, he has no statement to make about instruction.

At the same time, empirical studies on sociological and psychological distance had encouraged him to broaden the implications of his model in the 1986 paper. He reiterates that his model does not refer to situations where learners acquire a second language in their L1 environment (called *enculturation* by Schumann), nor does it refer to learning a language in a school located in the target language area. However, when confronted with Maple's 1982 study of university ESL learners in Texas showing the effect of acculturation in a classroom setting, Schumann is willing to say that his model may be applicable to other groups, including those who are learning the language in a school setting along with learning it naturally.

The second paper (1986) also addresses many of the criticisms that he has received from scholars in the field. He concedes to MacLaughlin's (1987) criticism that the model does not deal with the dynamic nature of the sociological and psychological distance profile. He agrees that sociological and psychological factors may change over time, but maintains that no research model may be able to account for such long term change.

He also concedes that the variables in his model might be impossible to measure. One would need to do multivariate studies to see which variables have a significant effect, but it is especially hard to measure variables such as culture shock, language shock and ego permeability. Alptekin (1983) reports that although the "acculturation model" provides an interesting and useful account of the various social and affective factors underlying acculturation as a process of TL acquisition; there is a basic absence in the model of explicit relationships between factors of both sets--social and affective--as well

as among the factors of the same set. One would also need to do longitudinal studies with a large sample group, which would be very difficult to fund and execute given the nature of human beings to move.

Although he does not state so explicitly, Schumann would probably also concede that the falsification of his model is impossible (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991). As he maintains that individual psychological factors can override the tendency of the group, one will always be able to find exceptions who do not follow the predictions made for them by acculturation theory. In our minds this can be a strength for a model, rather than a weakness of the theory. Models are useful for explaining how a phenomenon operates in general, but they can be dangerous if they are adhered to too strictly. No one should assume that any individual is incapable of acquiring a second language with near native fluency because s/he fits into a certain sociological or psychological profile. Allowing for and expecting exceptions is especially important for fairness in all aspects of human interaction.

In the original model, Schumann also does not make it clear *how* he thinks that social and psychological factors affect second language acquisition. Larsen- Freeman and Long (1991) criticize him for this failure and suggest that social and psychological distance may lead to restricted input, which in turn leads to a less perfect mastery of the target language. In the 1986 paper, Schumann seems to be moving toward this position when he states that acculturation is important because it initiates a chain of causality. It is a remote cause which brings the learner into contact with target language speakers. Long (1983) adds to the discussion by stating that interaction with those speakers leads to the negotiation of appropriate input, which leads to language acquisition. We feel that the notion of negotiation of *appropriate* input, input that will engage the learner in communication, is crucial here. Learners of the L2 who experience social and psychological distance may be exposed to a great deal of input, but if they are not inclined to interact with that input, they may acquire very little of the L2.

Both MacLaughlin (1987) and Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) attack Schumann's model because it ignores issues of transfer from L1 to L2 and cognitive aspects of L2 acquisition. In answer to such criticism, Schumann wrote his 1990 paper which recognizes that any complete theory of SLA would have to take into account cognitive processing. It is not within the scope of this paper to reiterate all of thepossible cognitive models considered by Schumann as support for acculturation theory, but as an example we will mention one that was actually proposed by McLaughlin (1987).

McLaughlin applied Schneider and Schiffrin's (1977) ideas about controlled and automatic processing to SLA. Controlled processing requires that the language user pay attention to what s/he is saying. Controlled processing can handle only limited number of items at a time. Automatic processing requires little attention and can operated in parallel. Schumann suggests that a learner's L2 may never move from controlled to automatic processing, resulting in labored, agrammatical speech, as long as acculturation is delayed. Another possibility for Schumann is that the agrammatical speech may become automatic, and no longer move towards target language norms.

Schumann makes similar suggestions about other cognitive models, and in the process actually reconfirms Gardner's (1985) criticism: Schumann's model is more a model of language *non-acquisition* than language acquisition. In discussing possible cognitive models, he continually focuses on a learner's failure to obtain L2 norms.

At the same time, he is clearly uncomfortable about adopting any one cognitive model in particular. He recognizes the impossibility of doing so when we do not understand the neurobiological constraints of the human brain, and suggests that all such models should all be seen as metaphors for what goes on in the brain rather than as definitive answers. He ends the paper by stating what he refers to as the SLA paradox: cognitive processing can not be currently incorporated into a general theory of SLA, but at the same time, such a theory can not be complete without a cognitive component (p. 683).

IV. Implications for the classroom

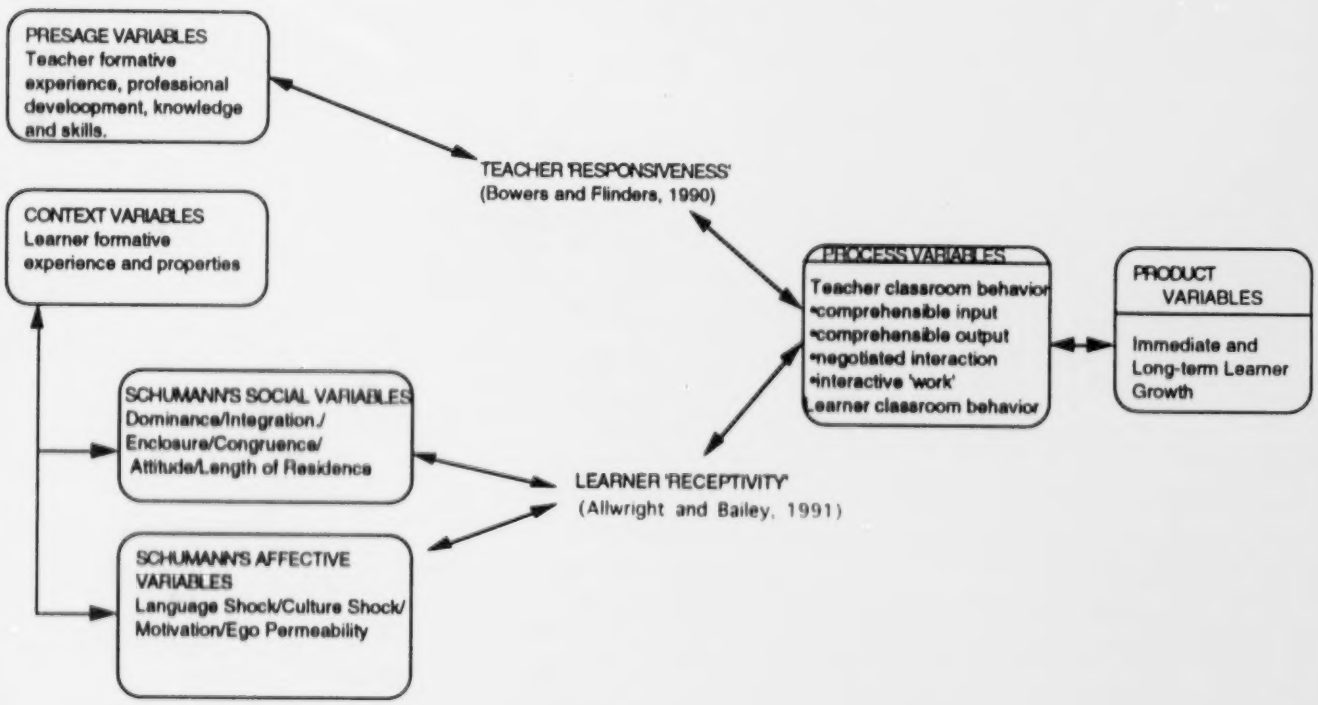
Schumann(1976) proposed a causal chain in the SLA process: Learners' socio-psychological factors cluster into a single causal variable called 'acculturation' and that affects learners' verbal interaction with speakers of the TL. This interaction, in turn, directly causes L2 acquisition. In response to this explanation, we arrived at two major questions: 1) Does SLA take place in linear order ? 2) How does classroom language acquisition fit into Schumann's acculturation model? Could the classroom be considered the setting for the interaction of the learner with the target culture?

As we indicated in the previous section, Schumann really intended for his model to explain natural L2 acquisition in the L2 target culture. He is intrigued by possible implications for L2 classrooms, but leaves it to other scholars to explore the possibilities. Ellis (1985) and Gardner (1985) both indicate that they believe that many of Schumann's factors may play a role in classroom language acquisition. Culture shock would be minimized (Gardner), and social distance may play no role, but psychological distance, motivation and attitude may operate in the classroom (Ellis). We would like to suggest that both social and affective variables influence the learner in the classroom, and that a thoughtful, 'responsive' teacher (Bowers and Flinders, 1990) can minimize the potential negative effects of distance factors. If this assumption is correct, acculturation would not be the linear process as Schumann suggested. Instead, contact and interaction within the classroom could actually affect the social and psychological factors that originally characterize the learners as they enter the classroom.

There appears to be no reason why classroom learners cannot be viewed within the broader context of naturalistic learning if we acknowledge simply that a classroom is a place where learners have access to L2 input and interaction in a more efficient and structured way. If we accept this working definition of the classroom, we can modify and expand Dunkin and Biddle's (1974) model for the study of classroom teaching

(Chaudron, 1988) as in Figure 2. In this revised model, acculturation is accepted as a remote causal variable made up of the social and affective factors that Schumann included in the model as first proposed. Rather than influence the classroom directly, these more remote social and affective factors from Schumann influence factors of receptivity, as described in Allwright and Bailey (1992).

Figure 2 A Revised Model for the Study of Classroom Language Teaching



Based on a model for the study of classroom teaching. (From: The Study of Teaching by Michael J. Dunkin and Bruce J. Biddle, p. 38. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.)

Receptivity, or a state of mind that is open to the experience of becoming a speaker of another language, has a dimension that is influenced by social factors i.e. dominance, integration, enclosure, congruence, attitude, and length of residence (see page 9), and a side that is influenced by affective factors, i.e., language shock, culture shock, motivation and ego permeability (see page 10). These two sets of factors influence receptivity exhibited by students in the classroom. Schumann categorized the social variables as group phenomena and the affective variables as individual factors. At the same time, he suggested that the individual factors can always override the tendencies of the group. In fact, it is very difficult to distinguish group from individual variables. Therefore, for the purposes of our discussion, we will look at all of the variables as individual characteristics that the learner brings into the classroom.

The learner's interaction with a responsive teacher (Bowers and Flinders, 1991) and with other learners in the classroom also exerts a mutual influence upon learner characteristics. Thus, while Schumann envisioned acculturation as a one-way, linear process, the arrows in our model point interactively in both directions. In a right-to-left sequence, success at negotiated interaction leads to greater receptivity by the students and more openness to the target culture. Similarly, there is a reciprocal relationship between process and product variables. Once inside the classroom, the learners' behaviors are characterized by their participation, turn-taking and interaction. This observable behavior leads to progress in language acquisition. As students' experience and success grow, the students will in turn feel motivated to continue working on the SLA process. In the next two sections, we will discuss in more detail student receptivity and teacher responsiveness and how they interact to promote SLA in the classroom.

Receptivity

Receptivity is the opposite of defensiveness, or feeling threatened by the prospect of becoming a speaker of another language, somebody else's language (Allwright and Bailey, 1991:157). Receptivity/ defensiveness can be affected by characteristics that learners bring with them as a result of their cultural background (Schumann's social variables), and by their psychological characteristics (Schumann's affective variables). To understand their students' openness to the target language and culture, teachers should be aware of the full range of social and affective factors that can affect learner receptivity, and in turn, affect the process variables.

Foreign language contexts (learning in the home culture) differ somewhat from second language contexts (learning in the target culture). In the foreign language setting, language shock and culture shock may take on decreased dimensions since the exposure to the L2 is limited to class time and does not carry over into every day life. At the same time, motivation problems may loom larger in one context or the other. By looking at some second language and foreign language examples we will be able to see that the social and affective variable in the model apply to both situations.

Both teachers and students may benefit from understanding the role of individual affective factors that students bring with them (see Figure 3). A complete account of how these factors and behaviors are interrelated would be impossible given the multifaceted connections. This partial outline, however, suggests the impact of seemingly 'external' acculturation variables on the input, output, and negotiated interaction that must take place within the classroom if language acquisition is to be accomplished. If learners have low ego permeability, for example, they will be unwilling to take the risks that will open them up to the target culture that is being offered to them. They may feel offended and be inattentive, thus rejecting the input that is being offered. Students who are suffering from language shock, or the inability to

Figure 3

Acculturation Variables	Receptivity to...	Learner behavior	Possible negative effect on process variables
language shock	target language	anxiety	less attention
culture shock	target culture	attention uninterested or offended	less input
ego permeability	the teacher as a person	parent/child/adult roles	resist giving output
motivation	fellow students course materials	competitiveness less interested in course material	less interaction

express themselves as they usually do, may respond by shutting themselves off from the classroom society, and they may resist trying to contribute their own output to the class.

Social factors also have an influence on receptivity. In an ESL context, for example, the learner may come from a culture in which older persons and teachers are always deferred to, which is often not the case in the United States. In other words, there is a lack of congruence between native and target cultures. If an American teacher attempts a democratic, participative way of teaching the course, the student may reject it because it may be uncomfortable for the student to adopt the role of an adult on a more even plane with the teacher may be uncomfortable. Because of a resulting lack of receptivity on the student's part, the amount of learner input, output, and negotiated interaction may be minimized. Social influence is also very apparent, especially when one looks at the status of foreign language education in the United States. As Simon (1980) graphically portrays in his book *The Tongue- Tied American,* the dominance of English as a world language and the political power of the United States specifically have had a negative impact on the receptivity of Americans towards learning foreign languages. Although the U.S. has a multilingual immigrant population that speaks more than one language, native-born Americans remain largely monolingual, in spite of

participation in foreign language classes. These examples of the influence of social variables may represent forces which lie beyond the influence of the teacher, but if there is to be any hope of improving the situation, teachers and students should at least be aware of such conditions.

In addition to appreciating these relationship between acculturation variables and process variables, teachers must realistically understand which receptivity factors they can be most 'responsive' to and how they can go about responding. For example, the learner's anxiety level may be traced to the effects of being 'the newcomer' in the class, but the teacher can increase the learner's receptivity to peers and reduce the learner's anxiety by first accepting the learner and gaining his/her acceptance. In the next section we will discuss teacher responsiveness in greater detail.

Teacher Responsiveness

If student receptivity is to reach an optimal level for SLA, however, teacher responsiveness (Bowers and Flinders, 1990) must be maximized. Bowers and Flinders see the classroom as an ecology of linguistic and cultural patterns that need to be considered when the teacher is making decisions about his/her curriculum and instruction. Their classroom ecology is a critical reaction against what they see as the prevailing "technicist" approach to classroom management. Current practice in L2 classroom management continues to a large extent to have a technicist orientation which can be traced to the Cartesian classroom instruction model of Tyler (1949) and through more recent textbooks on classroom management by authors such as Charles (1992). This rationalist tradition assumes (1) that the educational process is culturally neutral, (2) that language serves as a conduit for the conveyance of information, rather than the means of constructing meaning between interlocutors, and (3) that learning is centered in the individual. Furthermore, in the technicist approach, teachers are seen as managers who act upon the students and then judge whether the products they produce correspond to the

input that the teacher provides. When we look at the revised model of classroom SLA as an acculturation process which requires negotiated interaction in the L2, Bowers and Flinders' paradigm of appropriate teacher/student interaction is more appropriate than the traditional technicist model. In the following section, we will look at how the concepts of learner receptivity and teacher responsiveness relate to our model's process variables: comprehensible input, comprehensible output, negotiated interaction and interactive work..

On a surface level, this management environment would seem to be conducive to the literal world of input and output, two computer terms that are employed metaphorically in explanations of the process of second language acquisition. Teachers send a message to each student in a managed environment. The amount of the message received is measured periodically by objective tests. However, as process variables in our model, such SLA terms as comprehensible input, comprehensible output, and negotiated interaction are better understood within the framework of Bowers and Flinders responsive teaching than within the more familiar system of classroom management, even though their surface meanings may suggest technical processes.

Input refers to samples of the language that the learners are exposed to, processing some of it as "intake" (Corder, 1967). When the learners are attentive (Van Lier, personal communication as cited in Allwright and Bailey, 1991), they subsequently produce some semblance of the original input as output. Whether it is characterized as "simplified" (Cazden, 1988) or "comprehensible" (Krashen, 1985), input typically comes in the form of teacher-talk, the talk of other learners, a variety of texts including printed or taped dialogues among fictional or real native speakers, and other visual and auditory stimuli. The learners' output routinely differs from the original input in quantity (by being far less) and quality (by being defective in some aspect of language form). It is traditionally assumed that the teacher, by virtue of age, training and proficiency in the language, will exercise the power to manage the process by selecting input that is

appropriate for the learners and by calling on students in a democratic fashion, allowing them to produce their output. It is further assumed that by practicing and repeating this process, important language learning objectives will be met and levels of mastery will be attained.

Like the terminology of earlier audiolingual descriptions of language learning (habit-formation), the term input adds very little to our understanding of learner and teacher behavior in the classroom. The term output, meanwhile, adds substantially more by suggesting a shift of attention from a teacher-centered to a learner-centered explanation of how the language is to be acquired. Swain (1985) hypothesized that comprehensible output, or required language production that is just one step beyond the learner's current proficiency level, forces the learner from the semantic processing needed in comprehension to the syntactic processing required in the production of language. However, whether we choose to focus on input or output, we are likely to miss the moment-to-moment dyadic nature of language use and language acquisition for which the teacher is responsible.

Supplementing the concepts of input and output, is the emphasis on negotiated interaction. To Long (1981), interaction implied the learners' use of conversational devices, such as requests for clarification, to ensure that the input would be comprehensible. The term "negotiate" referred to exchanges between learners and their interlocutors as the attempt to resolve communication breakdowns and work toward mutual comprehension (Schmidt, 1990). The more learners and interlocutors negotiate with one another, the more learners receive comprehensible input, and the more they engage in comprehensible output.

Negotiated interaction in the classroom, however, does not take place without responsive teaching that takes into account learner motivation. Freire (1985), a critical theorist especially known for his successes in literacy education, recognizes this need for negotiated interaction and responsive teaching in his call for *dialogical teaching*. Freire

stresses that students do not learn by acquiring facts, but rather by constructing their own reality through dialog with others (fellow students and teacher). Freire's colleague, Giroux (1988) recognizes the importance of the receptivity to the learners in this process on the part of thoughtful teachers by referring to teachers as *transformative intellectuals*.

In the field of second language education in the United States, Crawford-Lange and Lange (1984) have built on Freire and Giroux's work to address the use of critical pedagogy in the second language classroom specifically. Their pedagogical proposal, the interactive language/culture learning process, would lead to negotiated interaction through responsive teaching. This proposal provides learners sufficient support, responds to their changing needs, emphasizes meaning over form, and leads toward greater learner autonomy. A role-shift for teachers from one of manager, information giver and judge to one of facilitator, integrator and communicator is involved in the interactive language/culture learning process. Teachers are relieved of being the authority in all matters of language and culture as the learners begin interacting more directly with the target culture without the often intrusive mediation of the teacher. The emphasis on helping learners come to grips with the culture in this process serves another important purpose: It establishes meaning and purpose for study. "The proposed process initiates each progression in language with a discussion of culture that inserts language learning into a meaningful context. Through culture, students discern the 'why' and the 'in order to' of the language to be studied and used. In fact, failure to establish meaning may actually inhibit the learning of language as a communicative tool" (Crawford-Lange and Lange, 1984:171). The recognition that learners thrive on meaning, especially when they can identify their own themes, pose their own questions, find their own answers and create their own materials, is a key to understanding motivation in the second language classroom and promising direction for responsive teaching.

As this proposal is implemented, learners will find that ways of thinking and reasoning, far from being culturally neutral, vary with the culture and lead to new

questions about the learners' native culture. The language will become more than a conduit through which perfectly translatable information passes; it will signify important values and social relationships to learners who might otherwise not become aware of them. As learners break out of their individual, isolated struggles with the language and begin to interact and collaborate more with each other and the teacher, they will gradually take over more control of their own learning, become more motivated to answer their own meaningful questions about the culture and language while teachers respond with flexibility, support and professionalism.

To become a responsive second language teachers--rather than a classroom manager--student teachers will need different formative experiences and professional skills. They will need to learn how to exploit the authentic resources of the target language and culture in creative new ways. Too often in the past, teaching candidates were handed the textbook and expected to teach it in the prescribed order. They need to be encouraged to search out and use authentic materials and realistic content, even at the beginning levels. This new expectation presupposes that teaching candidates are looking for effective new ways of teaching rather than a single approved methodology.

VI Conclusion

Schumann's acculturation model gives us a defensible representation of how second language learning in a naturalistic environment may work. The fact that it is comprised of both sociological and affective variables makes it strong. Through it, we can explain the success or lack of success for certain groups in acquiring the L2 while still making allowances for individual differences which can always overcome the tendency of the group.

When we consider transferring Schumann's model into the classroom, we accept that many of his variables may play a role in this more constrained, formal environment. Our model shows how process variables in the classroom interact with learner receptivity

and teacher responsiveness. We speculate that responsive teachers can help to minimize social and psychological distance factors that affect learner receptivity, and that being able to offset such factors may be what distinguishes effective from ineffective teachers.

We also need to point out that our discussion about classroom language learning is not quite complete because we have not distinguished between academic (written and oral) language and non-academic oral language. Schumann's theory of L2 acquisition, along with most others, deals primarily with non-academic oral language. Academic language can be incorporated into our model of acculturation in the classroom, however, if we think of academic language as a subculture which an L2 learner may or may not share with the target language classroom setting. If the two cultures are congruent with respect to academic language, the learner will likely acquire the L2 more easily than if it is not. Thus, a Vietnamese speaker who was educated in French schools is more likely to successful in an ESL classroom than a Hmong speaker who has only rudimentary formal schooling.

As the above example demonstrates, we recognize the problematic nature of affecting student receptivity. Students often come into the classroom with many personal and cultural characteristics that may inhibit second language learning. They may be very difficult, if not impossible, to change. At the same time, we hope to offer our model to help teachers understand how the SLA process may operate (or not operate) in their classroom. Such an understanding should help students' SLA by allowing teachers to work on changes that can be made.

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